

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 08087

E.O. 11652: GDS
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SUBJECT: FRG-USSR RELATIONS

REFS: (A) BONN 4641; (B) BONN 5568; (C) BONN 6901;
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BEGIN SUMMARY: THERE WILL BE MANY SOVIET-GERMAN
VISITS OVER THE NEXT FEW WEEKS, BUT WHETHER THEY WILL
LEAD TO ANYTHING IS NOT CLEAR AT THIS STAGE. MOST OF
THIS ACTIVITY WILL BE DONE IN THE NAME OF PREPARING FOR
BREZHNEV'S VISIT, BUT THE VISIT CONTINUES TO RECEDE IN
TIME. AN OUTLINE OF WHAT COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED DURING
THE VISIT IS BEGINNING TO EMERGE. FOREIGN MINISTER
GENSCHER, WHO WILL VISIT THE USSR JUNE 13-15, REMAINS
VERY MUCH IN THE CENTER OF FRG-USSR RELATIONS. END
SUMMARY.

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1. A FONOFF WORKING LEVEL SOURCE HAS CONFIRMED THAT VERY
LITTLE CAME OUT OF BONDARENKO'S RECENT VISIT TO BONN.
THE GERMANS TRIED TO FOCUS THE DISCUSSIONS ON THE
CULTURAL PROTOCOL IN VIEW OF THE SMALL GAP WHICH REMAINS
BETWEEN THE TWO NEGOTIATING POSITIONS AND THE
CONSEQUENT LIKELIHOOD THAT THE PROTOCOL COULD BE

SUCCESSFULLY CONCLUDED. HOWEVER, BONDARENKO INSISTED SUCCESSFULLY THAT THE MORE DIFFICULT PROBLEM OF THE SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION AGREEMENT BE DISCUSSED FIRST, PROMISING THAT ONCE THIS AGREEMENT IS SOLVED THE CULTURAL PROTOCOL WILL FALL INTO PLACE. THE RESULT WAS THAT THE SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION AGREEMENT WAS THE ONLY SUBJECT DISCUSSED IN DEPTH.

2. ON THE SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION AGREEMENT, AS WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY REPORTED (REFTEL A), THE FRG HAS PROPOSED SOLVING THE BERLIN CLAUSE PROBLEM THROUGH COINCIDENT SIGNATURE OF A FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT AND PROTOCOLS OUTLINING SPECIFIC TYPES OF COOPERATION. MOST OF THE DISCUSSIONS WITH BONDARENKO REVOLVED AROUND THE WORDING OF A SOVIET DECLARATION AND AN FRG ANSWER THERETO CONTAINING EXPLANATIONS OF THE TWO SIDES' INTERPRETATION OF A PROTOCOL WHICH DIRECTLY COVERS FEDERAL INSTITUTES IN BERLIN AND THE "PERSONAL SOLUTION" TO THE PROBLEM OF GIVING VISAS TO THEIR DIRECTORS AND DEPUTY DIRECTORS. GENSCHER HAD INSTRUCTED THE FRG DELEGATION TO BE FIRM ON BERLIN QUESTIONS AND MAINTAINED THESE INSTRUCTIONS THROUGHOUT BONDARENKO'S VISIT. GENSCHER HAS NOT YET, HOWEVER, REVIEWED THE FINAL PRODUCT OF THE DISCUSSIONS. CONSEQUENTLY, HE HAS NOT YET ISSUED FURTHER NEGOTIATING INSTRUCTIONS, AND THE DEFINITIVE GERMAN POSITION FOR THE NEXT NEGOTIATING ROUND IS NOT YET SET.

3. THE NEXT SET OF GERMAN-SOVIET MEETINGS WILL TAKE
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PLACE ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE. A PREPARATORY MEETING OF THE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMISSION STARTED MAY 9 IN MOSCOW AND IS SCHEDULED TO END MAY 11. THE COMMISSION ITSELF IS SCHEDULED TO MEET IN BONN JUNE 1-3. THE SOVIET DELEGATION WILL BE HEADED BY FIRST DEPUTY PREMIER TIKHONOV, WHO WILL ALSO TRAVEL TO HAMBURG, ESSEN AND MUNICH.

4. SOLOMENTSEV, PREMIER OF THE RSFSR, IS SCHEDULED TO VISIT KUEHN, MINISTER PRESIDENT OF NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA, MAY 23-27. SOLOMENTSEV WILL ALSO PAY A SHORT VISIT TO BONN.

5. THE ACTION WILL THEN SHIFT TO MOSCOW, WHERE FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER IS SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE AT NOON JUNE 13 FOR A DAY AND ONE-HALF OF "REGULAR" CONSULTATIONS WITH GROMYKO. GENSCHER WILL SPEND THE EVENING OF JUNE 14 AND JUNE 15 IN LENINGRAD. HE WILL BE PREPARED TO CARRY OUT FURTHER DISCUSSIONS OF THE SCIENTIFIC-TECHNO-

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LOGICAL COOPERATION AGREEMENT, BUT ONLY IF THE SOVIETS
INDICATE A SUBSTANTIAL CHANGE IN THEIR POSITION ON
BERLIN. GENSCHER WANTS TO SHIFT THE FOCUS AWAY FROM THE
STALLED AGREEMENTS. HE, THEREFORE, INTENDS TO CARRY
OUT A GENERAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON ECONOMIC, HUMANITAR-
IAN, AND MULTILATERAL QUESTIONS. HE PLANS TO PRESENT
ANOTHER LIST OF HARDSHIP EMIGRATION CASES TO GROMYKO AND
INDICATE AT THAT TIME THAT THE NUMBER OF EXIT PERMITS
GRANTED TO ETHNIC GERMANS MUST BE INCREASED PROMPTLY IF
LAST YEAR'S TOTAL IS TO BE EQUALLED THIS YEAR. THE
WORKING LEVEL REGARDS A GENERAL EXCHANGE ON CSCE AS
INEVITABLE. GENSCHER ALSO PLANS TO SPEAK TO THE SOVIETS
ONCE AGAIN ABOUT THE NEED FOR INVOLVEMENT BY COMMUNIST
STATES IN THE SOLUTION OF NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES.

6. BREZHNEV VISIT
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WHEN BONDARENKO WAS IN BONN HE INSISTED THAT IT IS NECESSARY FOR BREZHNEV TO VISIT BONN BEFORE THE END OF 1977. HE FLOATED NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER AS A POSSIBLE TIMEFRAME. BONDARENKO ALSO MADE CLEAR THE SOVIET DESIRE TO PUT SUBSTANCE INTO BREZHNEV'S VISIT, AND SKETCHED OUT A POSSIBLE OUTLINE OF WHAT COULD BE ACHIEVED DURING THE VISIT:

-- THE SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION AGREEMENT, WHICH BONDARENKO INDICATED WOULD BE A SUITABLE AGREEMENT FOR BREZHNEV TO SIGN;

-- THE CULTURAL PROTOCOL, WHICH COULD BE SIGNED AT A LOWER LEVEL BUT MENTIONED IN A COMMUNIQUE ON THE VISIT;

-- A TREATY ON DOUBLE TAXATION, THE DRAFT OF WHICH HAS JUST BEEN GIVEN TO THE SOVIETS BY THE FRG EMBASSY IN MOSCOW;

-- AN AGREEMENT TO EXCHANGE INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITS;

-- AN AGREEMENT, PATTERNED ON THE U.S.-USSR AGREEMENT, FOR A PUBLICATION OF TWO CULTURAL MAGAZINES SUCH AS SOVIET LIFE AND AMERICA; AND

-- A FINAL COMMUNIQUE POINTING TO THE ABOVE PROGRESS IN BILATERAL RELATIONS AND REAFFIRMING THE LONG-TERM VALUE OF DETENTE.

7. IN ORDER TO PUT TOGETHER THIS PACKAGE IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO FIND A PRACTICAL SOLUTION TO THE SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION AGREEMENT WHICH THE FRG IS ABLE TO DEFEND IN PARLIAMENT. SINCE THE FRG GETS ONLY INCREASED CONTACT OUT OF THIS AGREEMENT WHILE THE USSR GAINS ACCESS TO SOME GERMAN TECHNOLOGY, THE WORKING LEVEL IN THE FONOFF BELIEVES THAT GENSCHER WILL
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CONTINUE TO STAND FIRM IN NEGOTIATION OF THIS AGREEMENT.

8. THE GERMANS REGARD THE QUESTION OF BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO THE FRG AS RELATED TO THE QUESTION OF HIS VISIT TO THE U.S. AND HIS GENERAL HEALTH. BOTH THE SOVIETS AND THE FRENCH HAVE TOLD THE GERMANS THAT BREZHNEV WILL

VISIT PARIS AT THE END OF JUNE. NEITHER SIDE, HOWEVER, HAS GIVEN SPECIFIC DATES FOR THE VISIT, WHICH LEADS THE GERMANS TO THINK THAT EVERYTHING IS NOT YET SET. THE FRG ALSO HAS INFORMATION THAT BREZHNEV WILL VISIT EAST BERLIN BEFORE COMING TO BONN. OUR SOURCE HAD NO ORIGINAL INFORMATION TO PASS US ON BREZHNEV'S HEALTH.

9. COMMENT: GENSCHER IS DETERMINED TO REMAIN IN THE CENTER OF GERMAN POLICY MAKING TOWARD THE USSR AND PREPARATION FOR THE ELUSIVE BREZHNEV VISIT. GENSCHER IS ALSO REPORTED TO BE MAKING PROGRESS IN CONVINCING THE CHANCELLERY THAT THE FOCUS FOR BREZHNEV'S VISIT SHOULD SHIFT AWAY FROM THE STALLED AGREEMENTS TOWARD OTHER EXAMPLES OF BILATERAL COOPERATION, A REVIEW OF PENDING MULTILATERAL ISSUES, AND A GENERAL REAFFIRMATION OF DETENTE. BONDARENKO INDICATED CLEARLY THAT THE SOVIETS DO NOT AGREE AND BELIEVE THAT THE VISIT SHOULD BE USED TO MAKE CONCRETE PROGRESS IN BILATERAL RELATIONS (THE STALLED AGREEMENTS, OR AT LEAST ONE OF THEM). THUS, THE SOVIETS HAVE BECOME THE DEMANDEUR, A DEVELOPMENT WHICH THE FONOFF WELCOMES.

10. THE FRG CAN AFFORD TO BE FAIRLY RELAXED ABOUT THE STALLED AGREEMENTS. IT APPEARS AS IF POSSIBLE DOMESTIC PROBLEMS WHICH COMPROMISE OVER BERLIN WOULD CAUSE THE

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GOVERNMENT MORE THAN OUTWEIGH POSSIBLE BENEFIT THE AGREE-
MENTS WOULD GIVE THE FRG. THIS EQUATION SO FAR HAS
TRANSLATED INTO THE FIRM GERMAN POSITION. PERHAPS THE
GREATEST FORCE PUSHING THE FRG TOWARD SIGNATURE OF THE
STALLED AGREEMENTS IS THE CONSIDERATION THAT EAST
EUROPEAN STATES REFUSE TO NEGOTIATE SIMILAR AGREEMENTS
WITH THE FRG UNTIL THE SOVIET PRECEDENT IS SET. THIS
STANCE BY THE EAST EUROPEAN STATES PUTS SOME PRESSURE ON T
THE FRG TO RESOLVE ITS DIFFERENCES WITH THE USSR BECAUSE
THIS TYPE OF AGREEMENT HAS MORE PRACTICAL EFFECT IN
EASTERN EUROPE THAN IN THE USSR. FOR EXAMPLE, IT IS
MORE LIKELY THAT THERE IS A BERLINER WHO HAS
INHERITED PROPERTY IN POLAND AND WHO WOULD BENEFIT
FROM THE LEGAL ASSISTANCE AGREEMENT THAN THERE IS A SIMILAR
CASE IN THE USSR. SO FAR THE FRG HAS CONTAINED THIS
PRESSURE.

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11. THE ABOVE INFORMATION AND COMMENTS REFLECT THE VIEW
FROM THE FOREIGN OFFICE. WE SHOULD ALSO NOTE, HOWEVER,
THAT EGON BAHR TRAVELED TO MOSCOW TODAY. THE OSTENSIBLE
PURPOSE OF HIS TRIP IS TO DELIVER A LECTURE AT THE
SCIENTIFIC ACADEMY, BUT HE WILL ALSO MEET WITH POLITICAL
FIGURES. GIVEN BAHR'S PAST HISTORY AND POSITION WITHIN
THE SPD, THE POSSIBILITY OF HIS CARRYING OUT SUBSTANTIVE
DISCUSSIONS IN MOSCOW CANNOT BE EXCLUDED. A CHANCELLERY
SOURCE HAS CONFIRMED TO US THAT BAHR IS ACTIVE IN EAST-
WEST RELATIONS, BUT CLAIMS THAT HE HAS NO AUTHORITY TO
TAKE ANY DECISIVE STEP WITHOUT CONSULTATIONS WITH BOTH
SCHMIDT AND GENSCHER.
STOESSEL

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